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North Pacific/East Asia Project Report.

A Report On The Developments Of The Canadian Institute Of Strategic Studies' Multi-year Research Project On The North Pacific/East Asia Security Zone.

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Introduction.

This report will review the relationship which has been developed between the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, Toronto, and the Beijing Institute for International Strategic Studies, Beijing, (BIISS) of the People's Republic of China (PRC). This review will be based upon previously-compiled reports by the CISS staff and delegates involved in the Institutes' multi-year strategic studies research project on the North Pacific/East Asia Security Zone (NPEASZ).

Canada - People's Republic of China: Historical Relations.

The increasing involvement of the People's Republic of China in contemporary world affairs following the Cultural Revolution is one of the most significant factors influencing international politics today. Canada's establishment of diplomatic relations with the PRC in 1970, our part in the assumption by Beijing of China's seat in the United Nations and the vigorous programme of Sino-Canadian exchanges carried out over the past several years, have been important contributing factors in the emergence of China from its earlier isolation.

Canada's contribution to China's decision to become a major and responsible actor in international affairs can be considered a distinctive and important accomplishment. A remarkable degree of confidence has been established between the two countries, given the limits that history, geography and differing political viewpoints impose.

The Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies.

The CISS has for several years been involved in the development of a major research project to study important strategic issues concerning the North Pacific/East Asia Security Zone.

A primary focus of the study has been on the People's Republic of China with regards to the following areas:

(i) the PRC and its strategic interests;
(ii) the evolving relationship between Chinese and Canadian strategies for NPEA area;
(iii) openings for Chinese and Canadian bilateral co-operation in the NPEA region;
(iv) opportunities for co-operation and joint action, or action along parallel lines in a variety of multilateral fora of a diplomatic, security, or arms regulation nature.

Early steps in the project were devoted to the process of context building and of establishing the mutual trust necessary to develop the relationship further. These involved the participation of a number of officials of the Chinese embassy in CISS seminars and participation by members of the CISS executive in a variety of ceremonial social occasions organized by the Chinese embassy and the Chinese Consulate in Toronto

A significant step forward in the relationship, as a consequence of the patient prior context building, took place in 1984 with the presen-

tation by Mr. Cai Mengsun, the Military Attache of the PRC, of a paper titled, "*China: Strategic Objectives and Posture*", to the Institute's Fall Seminar. The paper was subsequently published by the Institute in, "*Canada's Strategies for the Pacific Rim*",(1985).

In 1984, as well, His Excellency, Yu Zhan, Ambassador of the PRC, made a presentation to a joint lecture series organized in Ottawa by the Ottawa branch of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the Ottawa chapter of the CISS. It was entitled, "*Global Strategy: A Chinese Viewpoint*". A summary of this lecture was published in 1985 by the CISS in,"*Global Strategy: Six National Viewpoints*".

In 1984, the CISS was informed of the intention of the BIISS to extend an invitation to the Institute to send a delegation to China for consultations and discussions of areas of mutual interest. The invitation was received in 1986, and plans were developed for a visit in the fall of that year. This had to be deferred until the spring of 1987 due to a conflict with a major international visit to China.

Exchange I:

CISS to China:
.... 24 March - 9 April, 1987.

A delegation of three members of the CISS took part in a seventeen-day visit to the PRC as the guests of the BIISS for the purpose of briefings, joint consultations and discussions of items of mutual interest.

The visit had two broad lines of investigation: first, military and political strategic issues; secondly, economic strategic issues.

1. Military and political strategic issues were considered through visits, briefings, and discussions with the BIISS, the SIIS and the 196th Infantry Division of the People's Liberation Army (PLA).

In the original negotiations concerning the visit, the CISS had requested visits to a naval shipyard, a military aircraft plant and a PLA armoured division in the field. The actual visit involved a civilian shipyard, a visit to Xian Aero-Engine factory, which was producing some spare parts for obsolete light bombers of 1950's Soviet design, and the 196th Infantry Division. The latter is generally considered a "showcase" unit to which foreign visitors are taken.

2. Economic strategic issues were investigated through visits and briefings at a representative number of enterprises and Special Economic Zones (SEZs) and at a special private briefing by the Deputy Director of the Bureau of Investigation and Research of the State Commission for Restructuring the Economic System.

The following enterprises were visited and briefings given:

(i) Jiangnan Shipyard, Shanghai;
(ii) Zhujiamg Brewery, Guangzhou;
(iii) Xian Aero-Engine Corporation, Xian;
(iv) An amusement park and golf course in Zhuhai;
(v) A light manufacturing plant in Shenzhen;
(vi) A small lubricating oils plant in Shekou.

The Shekou Industrial Zone, in the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, was also visited with extensive briefings and tours.

Exchange II:

BIISS in Canada:
....11 - 26 September, 1988.

A delegation of three members of the BIISS took part in a fifteen-day visit to Canada as the guests of the CISS for the purpose of discussions and exchanges of views concerning items of mutual interest.

The discussions emphasized Chinese and Canadian perceptions of American and Soviet strategy and the prospects for the development of Soviet/American relations.

Secondary issues dealt with American/European relations, Canadian/American relations, Chinese/Kampuchean relations and Canadian security policies, particularly in the Pacific area.

Discussions took place at academic institutions across Canada, with the Department of External Affairs, Asia Branch and with the Assistant Deputy Minister (Policy) of the Department of National Defence. Institute discussions took place with the CISS Ottawa and Toronto chapters.

Discussions covered a variety of issue areas:

(i) the concept of strategy;

(ii) dominant current factors in the international strategic environment:

(a) the development of new technology;
(b) the development of a multipolar world;
(c) the development of the arms race;
(d) trends in the Asia/Pacific region.

(iii) the international political situation:

(a) ideology;
(b) East/West;
(c) North/South;
(d) local conflicts.

(iv) the Soviet Union:

(a) the Gorbachev reforms.

(v) Soviet military thought:

(a) nuclear strategy;
(b) apparent changes in the Soviet military posture;
(c) implementing military changes;
(d) research.

(vi) disarmament and the arms race:

(a) nuclear issues;
(b) strategic defence;
(c) conventional disarmament;
(d) verification;
(e) roles of superpowers.

(vii) Asia/Pacific area:

(a) military confrontations;
(b) economic developments;
(c) Soviet Union;
(d) the Subic/Cam Rahn Bay proposal;
(e) Japan;
(f) Korea;
(g) disarmament.

(viii) China:

(a) Chinese economic reforms;
(b) Sino-Soviet relations;
(c) Sino-American relations;
(d) Sino-Canadian relations.

Exchange III:

CISS to China:
....7 - 22 May, 1989.

A delegation of three members of the CISS participated in a sixteen-day visit to seven cities in China under BIISS auspices with a view to identifying additional areas of common interest and areas for further study. The discussions were very wide-ranging, including political, economic, social and military subjects, i.e. strategy in its broadest sense.

Discussions first took place at the BIISS offices in Beijing and involved scholars and research staff of the Institute. Topics of discussions included:

(i) inter-relationships between the US, Japan and China in East Asia;
(ii) Soviet strategy and Sino-Soviet relations in an era of reconciliation;
(iii) the changing impact of Japan in the region;
(iv) recent developments in South East Asia.

A visit was made to the National Defence University, Beijing. In addition to receiving briefings on the organization and the structure of the University (which closely resembles the US NDU in Washington), discussions revolved around their research programme in strategic studies which addresses three main issues:

(i) "international situations" - including regional situation and focusing on arms control an the Asia-Pacific region;
(ii) military strategies of the major world powers, particularly changing Soviet strategy and US adjustments;
(iii) the strategy of the People's Liberation Army.

The Beijing phase of the visit also included discussions with the Deputy Foreign Minister (now Chinese Ambassador to the USA) and a tour of major cultural and historic sites.

In Chengdu, Sichuan Province, discussions were held at the Institute for South Asia, Sichuan University, concerning:

(i) India as a regional power and its relations with Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka;
(ii) India's policies regarding technology transfer;
(iii) India's "decentralization policy" and its lessons for China.

Additional discussions were held with Sichuan provincial officials concerning the privatization of industry, the conversion of defence industries to civilian production, agricultural productivity improvement under a market system for farmers and a school for chefs in the art of Sichuan cooking - the Sichuan Catering Company which is a provincial "private venture" and an anceint but effective major irrigation and flood control system.

In the city of Xian in Shaangsi province, in addition to discussions with provincial officials on tourism development, there were visits and discussions concerning the history of China during the period of the Warring States, the unification of the Three Kingdoms and the writings of Sun Tzu and Zhuge Liang, noted military strategists.

In Guangzhou (Canton), the short visit permitted a discussion with Western management personnel of a luxury joint-venture hotel.

A visit to the Special Economic Zone of Shenzhen on the border with Hong Kong permitted a first-hand view of the rate of development of a new industrial area and discussions with senior Zone officials concerning the nature, scope and countries involved in manufacturing for export (including the absence of Canadian firms) and the impact of the changing political, economic, and social conditions in China on the SEZs.

A tour of Panyou County provided an insight to the Chinese programme for development of further ancient social, cultural and historical sites as future tourism attractions

In Nanjing, at Nanjing University, morning-long, wide-ranging discussions included representatives from the Centre for International Relations, the Provincial Academy of Social Sciences, the World Economic Institute, the Department of International Politics and the China Association for Friendly Contact.

Topics under discussion included:

(i) the future military strategic role of Japan in the region;
(ii) concerns about Korea as a "hot spot";
(iii) shifting interests in NATO and the prospects for successful arms control agreements;
(iv) the importance of maritime arms control measures to East Asia.

In Shanghai, meetings were scheduled with the Shanghai Institute of International Affairs, but unfortunatley, they had to be cancelled due to extraneous circumstances.

Future Action Planned:

1988 Agreements.

In 1988, it was agreed by the CISS and the BIISS that there would be two further exchanges to take place in 1989. The first of these was to be Exchange III, the May, 1989, visit of three CISS delegates to the PRC. This was to be followed by a visit to Canada of a two-man BIISS delegation.

However, the strong repressive actions of the Chinese government in Tiananmen Square on 3-4 June, 1989, resulted in a significant reduction of normal diplomatic relations by Ottawa. The CISS also suspended its interactions with all Chinese institutes pending further developments. While both the Chinese and Canadian governments are conscious of the ultimate need to restore normal relations as soon as conditions permit, both the Canadian government and the CISS consider that such "normalization" must await further "official" evaluation of the evolving situation in China. In the meantime, the CISS is prudently awaiting positive developments and the recreation of an environment that will allow further progress to be made. The CISS is also awaiting the opportunity to procede with proposed arrangements.

These arrangements included the following:

The BIISS proposed several items for CISS consideration regarding future joint programmes and projects.

(i) scholar in residence.
(ii) joint research project.
(iii) joint conference.
(iv) exchange of publications.
(v) co-publishing.

The CISS agreed to examine the Scholar-in-Residence proposal but observed that the funding of such a concept was difficult at this time.

The joint-research proposals and the joint conference in China, or Canada, proposals were in keeping with CISS thinking and financial capabilities at this time. The CISS will have to reserve its commitment to specific proposals until it has been able to ascertain the level of financial support available from granting agencies.

The CISS presented a broad list of possible RESEARCH THEMES for joint research activities:

(i) the search for security in the NPEA area;

(a) the interests of the Superpowers in the region;
(b) national perspectives in the search for security in the region;
(c) the role of bi-polar relations in a multi-polar context;
(d) the CSCE as a possible model for development of the CSCP;
(e) treaty arrangements for regional security outside of the alliance framework.

(ii) economic development and national strategy;

(a) transportation networks in national strategy;
(b) methodologies for measuring the impact on the economy of changes in defence spending;
(c) application of military resources to national strategy objectives in economic development;
(d) capital investment decision models; public vs private sector applications.

(iii) arms control in the NPEA area;

(a) multi-polar nuclear arms control in the post-START era;
(b) regional arms control in the Pacific;
(c) opportunities for Confidence Building Measures in the Pacific;
(d) limitations on naval forces;
(e) verification in a multi-polar setting.

(iv) sub-regional security studies in the NPEA region;

(a) fostering security and development in the ASEAN region; possible roles for Canada and the PRC;
(b) resource development and soveignty issues in the South Chine Sea;
(c) the search for security and the roles of outside powers;
(d) the naval theatres and national naval strategies;
(e) the dilemma of the role of Japan in the regional security of the area-future opportunities and past memories.

Conclusion:

Until this summer, both Canada and the CISS have been able to describe their relationship with the People's Republic of China as being, "a special one". Both Canada and the Institute have endeavored, over many years, to establish with the Chinese a foundation upon which to build and further develop greater levels of co-operation for the mutual benefit of all.

Now, in the aftermath of the PRCs suppression by force of the public demonstrations in Tiananmen Square, and in consideration of the domestic and international political realities of the summer, further devevlopment of the relationship between the CISS and the Chinese government and its institutes was deferred pending improvements in the political situation.

The Institute and its members consider that the rebuilding of our important linkages with the BIISS must await positive change within China. We are prudently awaiting the identification of such signs of a progressive nature to merit the re-establishment of the dialogue between the institutes and the resumption of the plans for the future development of the North Pacific/East Asia Security Project.

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The Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies.

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